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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE ARABIC LITERATURE OF THE JEWS.

II¹.

21. *Extent and duration of the use of the Arabic language amongst the Jews.*

IN this part of the present essay I intend to introduce the reader to the writings of the Jewish-Arabic authors, taking into particular consideration the actually existing works. Therefore I consider (i) the general points of view as important a matter as (ii) an historical and objective survey of the literature itself. The connexion of the Arabic literature of the Jews, in spite of the variety of its contents and tendencies, is a part of the general question on the coherence of the literatures of the Jews in the different languages, a subject of which I treat in a lecture, viz. the "General introduction to Jewish literature." The present essay, however, is restricted to our special subject.

Arabic and German are the only languages and nationalities which have been of essential and continuing influence on Judaism. A statement of the extent and duration of the usage of the Arabic language by the Jews would, indeed, exceed the limits of what is here our principal subject, viz. the Arabic literature; but here I only give some hints of the *life*, the *customs*, *institutions*, and their *designations*.

¹ This Part is translated into English from my inedited German lectures by Miss ADELINE GOLDBERG, who for some years has been my literary assistant in different ways. Some abbreviations in the quotations will be found at the end of this article.

The Life. We have but little information about the manner in which the Arabian language gained footing with the Jews in the countries conquered by the Arabs, because from the *literary* usage of a language we cannot draw sure conclusions upon its *oral* usage. But this investigation is of the highest interest, because language, of course, is an important means of civilization. Very significant it is to know what language was spoken *before* the Arabic in the respective countries.

In the Orient, as far as the Semitic languages reigned—and the Chaldaic had probably been spoken by the Jews—the introduction of the Arabic was probably easier than in the West, for instance, in Spain, where Romance and Gothic were the native tongues. However, it seems that here also the Arabian tongue was early introduced, the Jews having been here, as in other countries, the secret or open allies of the Arabs (cf. *Litbl. d. Or.*, IV, 235). The respective sources are not to be looked for in the *Arabian*, but in the *Hebrew* literature of that time, where the adopted “foreign words”—according to their quality and importance—were taken from *life*, not from *Arabian writings* (as to such foreign words, see my *Fremdsprachliche Elemente*, Prague, 1846).

At an earlier period, some Arabian words, known by the intercourse with single Nomads¹, were already used for the explanation of the Bible, especially by Rabbi Levi (Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, p. 327); but on the whole they are not many, especially those introduced by the Babylonian scholars, with the exception of the travelling Akiba².

Not only Hebrew expressions, which Zunz designates as recent Arabisms, but also real Arabian words characterize the Midrash of the second period. In the first alphabet of Ben Sira, which also in the Arabic-Christian garb of the Leyden MS. offers some analogy to the *Evangelium*.

¹ אַרַבִּי, which probably is nothing else but طي, from which is derived אַרַבִּי; *Litbl.*, IX, 238 (VIII, 394); *Fremdsprachliche Elemente*, p. 26.

² Z. Frankel, *Verhandlungen der DMG.*, 1846, p. 10.

*infantiae*¹, under the letter ח (f. 16 a of my edition) is to be found a whole Arabic sentence: לא פקיר אפקר מן. ²גני לא ישבע סדר אליה. Among the names of insects in chap. vii (Zunz, *ibid.* 114 a), perhaps אבי עצל (before נמלה) (עכאש) (עכאש), belong to oral adaptation, but in Josippon (Zunz, *ibid.* 149) some Arabian words like קטב and even רישאנן (Roxane) are probably borrowed from literature³. Even in Italy, a woman, Perna (= Perla), wife of Isak Abuderahin (Abu Derahim), understood Arabic (1525, David Reubeni in *Med. Jew. Chron.*, II, 155).

22. Customs, Institutions, and Designations.

Benjamin of Tudela (I, 62, ed. Asher) reports the custom that before the "Head of the exile" (ראש גלות) they called out in Arabic "make way for our lord, the descendant of David" בן דאוד (so) לעמלו טריק לסירנא. The Arabic tongue made its way into the documents of the congregations and private agreements in Toledo at the end of the thirteenth century (Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, 427); in the שו"ת of הרור of Maimonides, n. 110, there is mentioned a bond in Arabic language and characters (ובכתב גי'ם). Very interesting is a controversy about that matter between Asher b. Jechiel, the German Talmudist who had come to Spain, and Israel Israeli, a representative of Arabian education, and author of the Arabian work מצות ומצוות (Jost, VI, 339). The latter maintains that such documents must not be judged according to the vulgar language, nor according to translations, but according to the book language. An Arabian sentence is to be found in a Hebrew letter of Josua Lorki (*Catal. of the Leyden MSS.*, p. 276). Hence

¹ Sprenger, *Mohammed*, p. 176; comp. *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, V, p. 90. The essay on the child who speaks from his birth, by Israel Levi in *Melusine* (1889), is not accessible to me.

² "No poor is poorer than a rich (man) who is not satisfied." Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, Arab. "Sprichwörter" (plural, but there is only this one); Schorr, *החלוץ*, VIII, 107.

³ *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 898; comp. Fraenkel in *ZDMG.*, 1896, p. 418; *Monatsschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Jud.*, 1898, p. 120, n. 1.

we find also single Arabian names of institutions, officials, and the like; for instance, the poll-tax, ז'ייה [cf. Enger, preface to Maverdi, p. 22 (1853)]; the Head of the community, מוקדם (analogous to the Arabic *Imam*); the community and the representatives of the community, אלנאמה (properly الجماعة)¹. Therefore these terms occur as well in Spain as in Sicily (Zunz, *Zur Gesch.*, pp. 502, 509, 513, 523; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, p. 113).

And not only for profane usage, but for sacred purposes and in sacred places did the language of the Ismaelites resound. We shall meet with the Arabian language in all possible branches of literature. Here, speaking particularly of the *service*, we will not estimate much the usage of Bible translations, although contrary to the irrational zeal which, up to our days, opposes this usage of translations at all, we must not omit Jehuda ibn Tibbon's (test., ed. Berlin, p. 6) recommending to his son the reading every Saturday of the Perikope in the Arabian language, with the first intention, certainly, of promoting the learning of the language—and this is perhaps even now commendable—for which purpose especially the translation of Sa'adia is adapted. But there exist also Arabian paraphrases of the Decalogue, in connexion with the Targum Jerushalmi, on the base of the Midrash, composed already in early times, and even attributed to Saadia, printed in the Machsor of Algiers (1772), where even phrases of the Koran occur (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2216); also, somewhat abridged, reprinted with a Chaldaic hymn (also in rhyme) in עשרת הדברים (rite of Tunis, ed. Amsterdam, 1737 anno את) and elsewhere². There are also similar elaborations of the Haftarat. We mention here the translations of Bible passages in different Arabic works, which were partly

¹ In the theological literature of later times הקיבוץ in the sense of καθολικός. יום אלמאמע"ה is Friday, the day of congregation with the Moham-medans, already ap. Abraham ibn Esra.

² Other editions are mentioned in *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IX, 6; XIX, 50 (*bis*); XX, 112; XXI, 46; also in עירובי, MS. Halberstam, 379 (*Catal.*, p. 103).

retranslated into Hebrew, for instance, in Maimonides' *Treatise on the unity of God*, which I have edited.

Of greater importance is the use of the Arabic language in the two principal elements of public service, the prayer and the sermon.

Arabic translations of the *Selichot* belong to the Middle Ages. A collection in Oxford contains also the two celebrated prayers (*Bakkaschot*) of Sa'adia, translated into Arabic by Zemach (זמח) b. Joshua, otherwise unknown¹. We find even original religious hymns in the Arabian language, especially for Purim and the 9th of Ab, in an old MS. (Bodl. 187; Neub. 2525), and one printed in Pseudo-Maimonides, שרה אלמולה (Livorno, 1759, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, 1861, p. 49); we meet also with pieces for Simchat Thora in MS. Bislichis 50 (not in Bodl.) and in my MS. 33. There exist also hymns composed of Arabian and Hebrew elements, as we find a similar mixture of languages (maccaroni) in European literature. Maimonides (*Abot*, I, 17, see below) mentions Arabic recitations at weddings. On Arabic recitations of Genesis (xxiv. 1-10) at weddings in Mauritania, see *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2185. The rules of the Pesa'h haggada in the Arabic language are to be found in old MSS. (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 48 ff., nos. X, XII, XIII, vol. X, 44, l. 7, pp. 380, 382). I hardly venture to derive רחיצת ידיים (for נטילת) from Arab. نسل (ibid. X, 44). On an Arabic ולמלשיני see Cazés, *Essay*, pp. 102, 103.

Single terms of ritual objects have been preserved even in Christian countries, for instance, the *pulpit* is still called "Almemor" (in Arabic *al-Minbar*). The *sermon* was most probably in early times delivered in the vernacular tongue, not to speak of the Karaïtes, whose literature has partly arisen from such discourses. Zunz has given only one testimony (*Gott. Vortr.*, 423) about the

¹ Neubauer, n. 1220, quotes *Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2213 (see also G. Polak, מרדכי בר, *Introd. to the Machsor*, p. 6), nevertheless he omits the name of the translator, even under n. 1096, hence in the Index of authors and translators.

Arabian countries of the time in question (see below), but we find the analogy in the Persian, the Aramean, the Greek, the Latin, and the Gallic, much earlier, and its application to the Arabic is confirmed by some old MSS.

Of the writings which we may designate as homiletic some are conserved in Hebrew sermons, originally delivered in the Arabian tongue, as in later times this was the case with other languages (Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, 433). On the other side many Arabian writings are a middle between commentary and homily. Therefore I give here only a few indubitable and characteristic instances (see my article in Kayserling's *Homilet. Beiblätt.*, vol. II).

Under the name of ISAK GAON and SA'ADIA B. MARZUK, Uri notes a number of Deraschot or commentaries on parts of the Pentateuch with not a little confusion, upon which we must not dwell (see *Catal. Bodl.*, pp. 2207, 2217; Chwolson in Geiger, *J. Z.*, IV, 316; Neubauer, *ibid.*, XII, 224). For our purpose Codex Uri 160 (Neub. 1001, see also *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XII, 20) will suffice. In the introductory rhymes there occur the words פניני תושעות ולכל הפרשיות... ליצחק הנאון אשר פִּירַר עַת הוּן וְעַת אַבֵּל וְאֵן לְעִבְרִי וּלְלֵעֻז. The MS. contains for the most part a sort of sketches of sermons, with the dates 1210–1229, not chronologically arranged, and the places named are אלמחמדיה, אלחטירה, אלחלה (Hilla). These sermons and sketches are interesting on account of their construction. They begin with a רשות in Chaldaic, which seems identical with צִדֵּר (introduction); sometimes only sketched, sometimes repeated in other sermons. Many superscriptions of the single sermons or sketches are taken from the Paraschijot, or the distinguished day on which the sermons were delivered. We point out: funeral speeches¹ on old and young people,

¹ צִדֵּר, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XII, p. 20. "Teazie" is called a sort of Persian tragedies, *Magazin für die Liter. d. Auslands*, 1845, p. 287, n. 7; *Revue de l'Orient*, V, 1844, p. 33; Klein, *Geschichte des Drama*, VIII, 191; Garcin de Tassy, *Mém. sur les particularités de la religion musulmane dans l'Inde*, pt. ii, 1869, p. 10. On the word צִדֵּר see § 20, s. v.

circumcision speeches, and so on. Some Arabian designations seem to point to the maturity of boys and girls, which suggests a kind of "confirmation" (of course not in the Christian sense). (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, 1862, p. 37; 1872, p. 20.) The text is taken from the Bible, sometimes in connexion with the respective passage of the Midrash or Talmud. In another way the MS. Uri 95 (Neub. 1009) is constructed, where the text of the Bible and the Talmud is followed by the formulas 'ברוך שמיך דקוד' and 'תבארך אלה'; the sermons are arranged according to the successive perikopes, each sermon finishing with the consolatory formula 'שיאמר בעל הרחמים לקרב עת להושיענו'.

The Deraschot on the lections of the Sabbaths and fasts and a commentary on Abot, which, in the Orient, are attributed to DAVID, a grandson of Maimonides (quoted by Zunz, *Gott. Vortr.*, 423), were attributed to an author of the beginning of the sixteenth century, by Munk, who brought them from Egypt (*Isr. Annalen*, 1841, p. 94). I, however, found in the Berlin MS. 152 the date 1318, which agrees with the time of David. The MSS. of the Brit. Mus. (Or. 66-70) are not yet sufficiently known. The Arabic in these homilies is degenerate. They are in favour with the Karaïtes, and answer to the צאינה וראינה of the Germans and the מעם לעז of the Portuguese. One David Maimun appears (1470) as a copyist. There exist testimonies of such homilies from the Barbary States from the end of the last century. Romanelli (p. 9) informs us of the Arabian sermons of the Rabbi of Miquenez (מיקניס) in Tangier (טאנגייה), where only the Bible passages are quoted in the Hebrew text. The traveller Saphir reports the same from Yemen. Pseudo-Salmon b. Jerocham, the Karaïte (apud Pinsker, *App.*, p. 194), speaks with zeal against the study of Arabic, another Karaïte (Nissi?) against the application of it in exegesis¹.

¹ I consider the commentary on the Decalogue, attributed to Nissi, as it is edited by Pinsker, as spurious or interpolated; see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, XIV, 35 (comp. Harkavy, in *הצפירה*, II, 175), XXI, 35; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*,

23. *Position of the Jews.*

We must also take into consideration the different position of the Jews as well as of the Christians among the Arabians, at different times and places; sometimes their political exclusion must have had an influence upon the language. There is, however, to be discerned the *general* position—at least the law about it—from the exceptional distinction of single persons, especially of scholars. The “tributaries” (اهل الذمة) were restricted in many respects, and there is a special little literature about that, where for instance, their capacity to be appointed as secretaries and the like is spoken of, and the part they have in the language and literature is also taken into consideration. It will, therefore, be convenient to glance at the sources of this legislation, and the knowledge of the Arabian Islamitic literature found with the Jews.

24. *The Mohammedan Law as to the treatment of Jews (and Christians).*

The nature and motives of the Mohammedan legislation have certainly been different at different times. It fluctuated between the contrast of Mohammedan fanaticism—which preached with fire and sword, and which at certain times, for instance, at the time of the Crusades, got fresh food—and the explicit order of Mohammed to treat with indulgence the “possessors of (holy) scriptures,” reminding us of Luther’s dictum: “Man solle die Juden ehren, aber nicht ernähren” (the Jews are to be honoured, but not to be supported)¹. Yet one must make a difference between the treatment of Christians and that of Jews.

p. 394, n. 402; against Pinsker, p. 37; Fürst, Kar. I, 156, n. 175; Gottlob, p. 141; comp. on the true Nissim, the art. “Karaiten” by Frankl, in *Ersch und Gruber*, p. 14.

¹ Koran, Sura 9, v. 29, and the Commentary of Beidhawi, quoted by Chwolson, *Die Ssabier*, II, 133; Mawerdi, ch. 13, ed. Enger. On the tolerance of the Muslims see also Goldziher, in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 75 ff.

S. Cassel (*Ersch u. Gruber*, article "Juden," p. 189) diffusely discusses the principle of that treatment, and finds the inferior position of non-Moslems founded on the spirit of the Mohammedan law. Here too, an old authority was appealed to, viz. the Khalif Omar, who is said to have stipulated certain "Schurut," or terms of peace, and these at the conquest of Jerusalem (636-38), hardly at the conquest of Damascus, as Hammer (*Das Osmanische Reichs-Staatswesen*, I, 185; quoted by Hamaker, see below) asserts, perhaps induced by the circumstance, that in later times the polemic literature found a natural place in Damascus. Here again we find in literature the key to strange assertions. Only with the conquest of Caesarea and Jerusalem, was Syria definitely subjugated, and only then could these terms be stipulated. Jerusalem would only submit to Omar himself (Weil, *Chalifen*, I, 80; cf. III; *Anhang*, II, about the conquest of Caesarea after Jerusalem, which Graetz, V, 134, 135, did not take into consideration).

As to the pact or the terms of subjection attributed to Omar, especially the sources and the various texts thereof, the most important matters are collected, with two Arabic texts (containing some archaisms), and edited in Hamaker's annotations to Pseudo-Wâkidi's *Futu'h Mi'sr*, Leyden, 1825, pp. 165-170 (p. 169 ff.). These laws were executed more or less severely; that depended on the tendency, more or less orthodox, of the governor himself. So, for instance, Weil finds in Omar I more political than religious tendencies; what Cassel says of Omar II seems not to be quite exact (see also Hamaker, p. 167)¹.

History, relating the celebrated diplomatic intercourse between Harun al-Raschîd and Charles the Great, mentions two Jews; one of them, Isak, the delegate of Charles,

¹ Altogether we have to discern the political tendencies of the dynasty of the Omayyades and the ecclesiastical character of the Khalifs of the Abbasides, profoundly elucidated in Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien*, vol. II (Halle, 1890).—Goldziher refers to Omar in his article "Saïd ben Hasan" (*Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXX, 6).

after his return, gave a report of his mission (Zunz, in *Benjamin of Tudela*, II, 243). According to a suspected tradition of a pious man in Narbonne, only known by the London edition of Zacut's *Juchasin* (p. 84), Harun is said to have sent back one Machir; but the very name, which is only to be found in France, and, later on, in Provence—at first perhaps as the name of Gerson b. Jehudah's brother—excites doubt¹. As to Harun's advances to Charles, Weil (*Geschichte der Chalifen*, II, 162) finds the reason for it in the former's hatred against the Omajjades in Spain, whereas his less happy operations against the Byzantine emperor Nikephorus (801) caused a renewal of those orders attributed to Omar (Weil, II, 161), which at first were applied to the Christians and only afterwards to the Jews. Later on, in the reaction of the Sunnites, under Mutawakkil (849–50), the original orders were rendered more severe (Weil, II, 353) so that in some way this Khalif is looked upon as the representative of these laws (S. Cassel, *Juden*, p. 191 b).

Under the Egyptian Fatimide HAKIM, a mad tyrant—probably murdered 411 H. (1020–21)²—one of the letters of the fanatic Druses is addressed to the Jews and the Christians; but, as it seems, the return from Islam to the former religion was admitted³; under the defamed Almohades in Barbary and Spain (about 1140) the *intolerant tolerance* increased, with various results, to real persecution. Egypt, at that time, had not yet been important enough for the Jews to effect essential consequences; perhaps the school of Chananel and Nissim, at Kairowan, would have called forth also there some changes in the position of the Jews (comp. Geiger, V, 349), whereas in

¹ The hypotheses of Graetz are refuted by Geiger in *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, III, 1 ff.

² Graetz, V, 411, says "erdrosselt," quoting *Geschichte der Drusen* (a German translation of De Sacy's *Exposé*?). His source is probably Weil, l. c., IV, 66. See also below, § 36; comp. S. Cassel, l. c., p. 201.

³ Jost, *Gesch.*, VIII, 2; De Sacy, *Exposé*, &c., I, p. cccxvi ff.

Spain, just at the time of its bloom and greatest liberty, persecutions commenced, and emigrations followed; the importance of which lies in the spreading of Arabian civilization and literature over other countries.

I cannot here pursue the discussion of this subject, for in the complicated relations of the state and the religion, after the decline of the Khalifat, other tribes took possession of the government; and the enlargement of the empire towards the East partly moved the centre of gravity to that place, where the Schiites already prevailed. The difference of religion caused new measures, while in Syria and Egypt the struggle with the crusaders increased the fanaticism, which indeed chiefly concerned the Christians, although even the Jews, directly or indirectly, came in contact with it. History, in this respect, is still to be supplied by Oriental science, the Jewish sources being but too scarce; and hypotheses, even most brilliant ones, are like surrogates, which must only be used in times of need.

An anecdote, taken from Weil's *Geschichte der Abassid. Chalifen in Egypten*, vol. IV, p. 355, may serve to show how the position of Jews and Christians sometimes changed¹. During the reign of Sultan Na'sir Mohammed, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, it happened that the governor, partly in consequence of diplomatic negotiations, protected and even favoured the Christians, while the fanaticism, stirred up by the clergy, raised a protest against it. A conflagration broke out at Cairo, which some tortured Christians were compelled to own to as their deed. [Soon after something similar happened in Damascus, the account of which is found in a protocol of an Arabic Leyden MS., not known by Weil, p. 361.] This forced confession was of such an effect that Christians who had to leave on urgent affairs, disguised themselves

¹ I have communicated this anecdote to the editors of the *Mittheilungen des Vereins gegen den Antisemitismus*, and it was published (1895) without my name.

as Jews, by putting on the yellow turban. De Goeje (*Catal. Lugd.*, III, 117) does not doubt the authenticity of this tale (see *Pol. Lit.*, p. 178).

The term "Bund" (pact) is not authenticated for earlier times. The fact mentioned by Noweiri, under the year 700, seems to be identical with that upon which is founded the document in Hamaker, and the regulations seem to be exact, except the *bells*. It is remarkable that the Jews and Christians examined did not know anything of the "Omar-pact," which was only found by the search of the Muftis. Yet Noweiri found the *acts of Omar* in a work (dedicated to Saladin) on the virtues of the Mussulmans and the vices of the Christians.

The contents of the pretended pact are, according to Hamaker, rendered with little exactness by Hammer (the source quoted first by Cassel, p. 190, n. 17), who refers also to D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, III, 274¹. Respecting the expression "treaty of Omar," neglected by Weil and Hammer, Grätz (V, 135), without mentioning Hammer and Cassel, quotes only D'Hosson (sic) and Weil, II, 353 (but there the question is of the time of Hakim), and with arbitrary alterations; so, for instance, that the tributaries dare not judge the Mohammedans (see Hamaker, p. 166; p. 121, where we read ... *ومن اذنب منكم تردناه*).

I shall restrict the following remarks to the parts of the pretended pact which are closely connected with our subject. In the first instance, we find in Hamaker the respective decree addressed to the Christians only; the term *گنيسه* designates also Christian churches. Bell-ringing (Cassel) is, to be sure, nowhere mentioned in the text; indeed Gibbon (apud Hamaker, p. 167) has already urged the fact that bells were not introduced into Greek churches before the eleventh century. Really *ناقوس* has the meaning of "knocker"², which instrument is still

¹ But see *Polem. Lit.*, p. 104, n. 81, and p. 182.

² *Comp. Litbl. des Or.*, IV, 298; *بوقات*, *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, V, 115 (emendation of *קבוצת הכמים*, p. 83); "*Gebetsklapper*," ap. Dieterici, *Der Streit*, &c.,

to-day in use with the Nestorians, and reminds us of the Jewish "knocker" (*Klopfer*, a person whose office it is to knock at the door at prayer-times). One passage, which exists indeed only in the Leyden MS. 951, runs thus: "Neque exhibimus (solenni pompa) dominica nostra palmarum et paschate"; شَعْنَة or شَعْنِينَة (Syr. ܫܥܢܐ) means "palm-feast"; according to Makrizi = عيد الزيتونة; Makrizi (in his relation respecting Mutawakkil) speaks also of palm-leaves (نحوض); a recent hand added: "It is now out of use" (Hamaker, p. 169).

Comparing with this supposed decree of Omar another, passed by the Sultan of Egypt in the beginning of the fourteenth century (printed in Hamaker, p. 170; cf. Goeje, p. 122, which explicitly refers to Omar السيرة العَمَرِيَّة بِشَرْطِهَا), we find in the latter decree Jews and Samaritans explicitly mentioned, and the making acquainted with the edict Christians and Jews according to the different sects(?):

وريساء اليهود وحزابيهم الي بين يدي الحاكم والايمه والعلماء. The conditions referring to the language and to the literature are the following: "they must not teach their children the Koran"—explicitly said in both documents (p. 166 ولا يعلم اولادهم القرآن 7 l. p. 171; and ولا يعلم لولادنا القرآن 1— "they must not speak the language of the Mussulmans and adopt their bynames" (ولانتكلم بكلامهم ولانتكنى بكناءهم). The first sentence is not to be found in the younger document; Hammer refers it to the Arabian scholars, viz. to the literary language, probably in opposition to the vulgar Arabic. Hamaker (p. 166), however, opposes that there is nothing of it in the text, and that at the time of Omar there did not yet exist Arabian scholars at all². With

pp. 151, 287; Dukes, *Ben Chananja*, 1864, p. 798; *Philosophisches*, p. 92: "Glockengeläute!"

¹ S. Cassel mentions that at first, under Mutawakkil, Weil, l. c., II, 354, mentions a prohibition to instruct infidels. According to the "Pure brothers" (Dieterici, *Anthropologie*, p. 214), it is prohibited to translate the Koran into another language.

² M. Soave, *La controversia di Tolosa* [read "Tortosa"], pp. 40, 41, quotes

respect to the names the second document goes still further (p. 170, l. 4 from bottom): it forbids names and bynames¹. This fact, interesting in itself, is not touched by any scholar, not even by Zunz (*Namen*, cf. p. 44). I have exhaustively treated the whole chapter of Arabic names in the first part of this "Introduction" (*J. Q. R.*, IX, 230, &c.). The last passage of our document runs thus: لا ننقش على خواتمنا بالعربية "we will not engrave anything Arabic on our seal-rings." The followers of Hammer lay the stress on the seal-ring itself as a mark of distinction, but the prohibition hits the use of the Arabic language.

To prevent the Jews from taking a higher position among the Mussulmans, there was probably no occasion till later times. The decree of 700 H. expresses all sorts of official employments: They must not serve the kings and the emirs in all that concerns their orders to Mussulmans, as secretaries or attorneys or plenipotentiaries (vicegerents), or anything that implies a command over Muslims.

All these regulations together imply a radical exclusion from intellectual life, as the marks on the garment from the social life². The usage of the language up to names and subscriptions, even the knowledge of the Koran, the religion of which was obtruded—is prohibited. A strange occurrence, characteristic of Islam!

If this legislation really appeared with the first sub-

a Bull of Benedict XIII, addressed to Valenzia (1415), and prohibiting to the Jews different things. Soave asserts that the use of the language of the country was forbidden to the Christians of Jerusalem during the seventh to the eleventh centuries!—In the year 1526 the Moriscos in Spain were by a decree forbidden to use the Arabic language in speaking and writing, to use their family-names and the national garb; vid. Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber*, II, 312.

¹ The bynames, a great part of which were titles of honour, seem to have more offended the pride and zeal of the Mussulmans.

² To control the "head-money," the Christian got a stamp on the collar (my *Polem. Lit.*, p. 167). On the "signes distinctifs" of Christians and Jews in Magrab, see the article of Mr. Fagnan in *Revue des Ét. Juives*, XXVIII, 294.

jection of non-Mussulmans, and was carried out so consistently with the compulsory measures, a lecture on Arabic literature of the Jews would have been impossible. And just therefore it is of high interest to inquire how far the law was actually executed, and we are in the happy position to answer—not with mere hypotheses—but with documentary facts from Jewish literature itself; and this alone would be a sufficient motive for desiring a nearer acquaintance with the Arabic literature of the Jews. This leads us to the second point.

25. *The Knowledge of the Arabic Literature among the Jews.*

To what extent were the Jews acquainted with the Arabic language and literature? The authentic proofs we have of an extensive usage of the Arabic language being of a comparatively late period, and the sources of the earliest ages entirely wanting, we are entitled to conclude that this usage and extension grew by degrees. There existed some opposition now and then for various reasons. "One of my contemporaries," says Jakob Anatoli (early in the thirteenth century), "often scolded at my learning (now and then) mathematics in the Arabic language with my father-in-law. He considered it as walking, or playing at chess, in the time of study" (preface to *Malmad*, penultimate page, last lines).

26. (*Excursus: Arabic Literature of the Christians.*)

There is almost nothing known to me regarding the history of the Arabic language of the *Christians*¹. Indeed,

¹ According to Mr. Cowley (*J. Q. R.*, VIII, 565), it is *probable* that the Arabic language became, soon after the Hegirah, the vernacular of the Jews and the Samaritans; the Arabic literature of the latter, however, is not yet accessible (*ibid.*, p. 569).—I intend to give a short bibliographical note on the Arabic writings of the Samaritans in form of an Appendix to the *Bibliotheca Arabico-Judaica*, which I am beginning to shape for publication.

the history of Christianity itself in Arabia up to the time of Mohammed, seems like the oldest history of this country in general to be more known from legends and monuments than from direct and literary sources of history. These sources in general treat especially the history of the Arabs proper, and only occasionally that of the Christians and Jews, with but few exceptions; for instance, Th. Wright, *Early Christianity in Arabia*, an historical essay, London, 1855; p. 33 Christians and Jews are confounded. We mention here in particular the Christian bishop Moses (p. 74), and the controversy between Gergentius and Harbann (p. 93); see also Schröter in *ZDMG.*, XXIV, 261 ff. Dozy edited a monograph on the Jews in Mekka, which, however, is perhaps this celebrated Orientalist's only work, the hypotheses of which, so far as I know, are not approved by any specialist.

On the other hand, it was hardly possible to take no notice at all of Judaism and Christianity, because religious struggles played a conspicuous part from the fourth century, when in South Arabia, as is well known, the Jewish king Dsu-Nowas, and in the reaction against him, the Christian Church, introduced from Abyssinia at the same time, gained footing, where the catholic tendency predominated, while the Arianists—as in later times the Schiites and Karaïtes—kept more to their co-religionists in Persia¹. Delitzsch, in his article already mentioned above, particularly treats of Petra, the northern part of Arabia, where lived the Nabathaeans, a Chaldaic-speaking tribe, whose kings (their names Harîth and Malik are perhaps derived from agriculture)² were in conflict with the Maccabeans and Herodians. But the interior of Arabia, the seat of the real tribes, who perhaps at a later period regarded themselves as descendants of Abraham,

¹ To the sources quoted above, § 4, p. 232 ff., I shall give some supplementary information at the end of this essay.

² حارث and مالك; I have pointed to this characteristic fact somewhere, I believe in the *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, 1863.

was never subdued by outward enemies as it has been supposed in modern times (for instance, Weil, *Muh.*, p. 12).

Legends and monuments are, as already mentioned, our principal sources. To judge about the former is a difficult task, because till now they could not be arranged chronologically¹, and the Bible exerted an influence on the Mohammedan mediators, sometimes without their knowledge. This circumstance is in general important for the older history of the Orient, as it has been brilliantly proved with respect to the Arsacides, by Gutschmid (in *Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellsch.*, XV; see also Nöldeke, "Amalekiter"; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, VII, 31). To the same category belong the legends of the monks of Sinai, who, as it was pretended, foreknew the time of the appearance of Mohammed, and who received the latter's written promise of gratitude (Delitzsch, loc. cit., p. 299), yet probably not before his becoming suddenly able to write—this reminds us of the Jewish letters from Worms, &c., on Christ (in Wagenseil's *Belehrung*).

But also with the monuments we are badly off till now; so, for instance, Beer² attributes the Sinaitic inscriptions to the Christians on account of the form of the cross—which was not contradicted by Tuch (*Zeitschrift der D. M. Gesellsch.*); but Levy (ibid., XIV, 1860, p. 391) sees in the cross a token of connexion, and proves—as Beer and Delitzsch had done already—that the dialect is, though Arabicized, an Aramaic one (Levy, pp. 379, 387)³. An Arabic writing by Christian authors from the time of Mohammed is not known at all; and there may be found the difference between Christians and Jews, which engaged me to enter into this discussion.

Even the monk Buheira or Sergius, the teacher of

¹ The attempt made by R. v. L. (Rühle von Lilienstern, a high officer of the Prussian army), although valuable, did not satisfy the Orientalists.

² See also Delitzsch, l. c., p. 279, where even Fürst expresses his doubts.

³ To him again oppose Blau, E. Meyer, and Nöldeke in the *ZDMG.*, XVI and XVII.

Mohammed—whose discourses were composed for Christian polemic purposes by a later monk—was a Jew, according to some writers (בחור, בחירה, Weil, p. 29?); Nöldeke, in his article "Had Mohammed Christian teachers?" (*ZDMG.*, XII, 1858, p. 701), attributes to Judaism the greater influence, although in his *History of the Koran* he considers the Jews of Arabia as illiterate¹. The literary usage of the Arabic language by the Christians was probably not evolved before the period of translations under the Khalif Ma'amun (ninth century). The oldest known translation of the Bible by Honein b. Ishak (ob. 873) is, according to Rödiger, probably made out of the Syriac or Greek². The Jewish literature of Arabia begins before Mohammed, and I believe that Omar never thought of exacting from the Jews and even from the Christians the above-mentioned conditions, at least as far as they regard the use of the Arabic language. With the Syrians it was quite another thing, and perhaps it is not accidentally that the Christian girdle, mentioned in those conditions, is called by the Syro-Arabic name زناير; ζωνάριον.

I am not yet treating of the Jewish-Arabic authors themselves, who, in a certain sense, begin already before the prophet, for instance, Samuel ben Adijja, but I am taking into consideration the Jews' knowledge of the Arabic literature of the Mohammedans (and Christians). Certain sources of this knowledge would naturally be direct quotations out of Mohammedan and Christian writings in Jewish works, which must not be indirectly quoted from other intermediate sources. In later times the Jews quote also several things from Hebrew translations of Arabic works, or even of Hebrew works, all that is of no value to our purpose. So, for instance, Simon Duran

¹ But see my review in the *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 67 ff.

² *Jew. Lit.*, p. 321, n. 4, "historian" (Jeschurun of Kobak, V, 183), read "Nestorian," and instead of "Krafft" read "Fleischer," MSS. Lips. Greek is given by al-Kifti. See also Frankel's *Zeitschr.*, 1846, p. 280, and *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 352, n. 680; Loewenthal, *Honein . . . Sinnsprüche*, p. 25.

never read the Koran, his quotations of it are partly not to be found there, but in the Sunna; he extracted them from Hebrew translations of two works of Averroës (whom he calls Averroës, the "father"), which are now edited in the Arabic original by Professor Josef Müller in Munich. An index of these quotations is to be found in my edition of Duran's treatise in *אוצר טוב* (1881)¹. But we possess copies of the Koran in Hebrew characters belonging to the Middle Ages, even with some interesting peculiarities with respect to punctuation and orthography². This fact alone illustrates the impossibility of barring the spirit.

That Saadia and Hai Gaon quote the Koran is now known by the recently published writings of Jehuda ibn Koreisch (comp. Graetz, V, 203), Abu'l-walid, Jehuda ibn Balam (*Commentary of the Pentateuch*), and Moses ibn Ezra (*Catal. Bodl.*, p. 2183).

27. *Writings of Mohammedan Arabic authors,
written in Hebrew characters,*

are to be found in the various branches of literature. A striking instance is the calendar of Garib ben Sa'id, of whom we shall speak below. But even copies of such works in Arabic letters were written by order of Jews, or were at least in possession of Jews, nay, some Arabic MSS. in European libraries, for instance, in Oxford, Paris, and in the Escorial were, according to the interesting epigraphs, the property of Jews, and partly bought from Jewish booksellers in the Orient. I point to the Aphorisms, and a compendium of the old Masaweih (in a Berlin MS.), and the great compilation al-'Hawi of Razi in Toledo, although not finished under Arabic dominion.

¹ Steinschneider, *Manna*, p. 105; comp. *Choice of Pearls*, ed. London, p. 142, *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 278.

² *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, III, 113; Rödiger, *ZDMG.*, XIV, 3; see my notices, *ibid.*, XV, 381, XLVII, 354.

But if in such purchases of European travellers in the Orient, pseudepigraphs and literary deceit were detected, the impostor was always said to be a Jew¹. Such a deceit is the said compendium of al-'Hawi by Honein, in a Bodleian MS. I consider as doubtful the pretended commentary of the general parts of the great Codex of Maimonides, by the pretended Muslim ALA AL-DIN al-Muwakkīt, copied by Saadia b. Da'ud of Aden, who published a work of Gazzali with a new title as his own work (*Hebr. Bibliogr.*, I, 21; W. Wright, *Journal of Sacred Literature*, p. 14; MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 27,294). Many a work has only been preserved by copies of the Jews, and the works of Averroës owe their preservation almost entirely to the Jews.—These works are principally medical, astronomical, and philosophical, partly the same that were translated into Hebrew, and therefore valuable for the bibliography of these translations. For instance, we learn from Hebrew MSS. that the meteorology of ARISTOTLE was translated by Ja'hja ibn al-Batrik (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 134).

But also various other information is to be got from the Arabic MSS. written by Jews². We shall mention here a few instances: an extract of an Essay (Risala) on the Mohammedan sects by abu'l-Kasim Ahmed ibn al-Khorasani in MS. Bodl., omitted by Uri, 309 (*ZDMG.*, XLVII, 338, reads Ahmed Karmani, s. p. 351); an astrology of an old Christian author 'Abd Allah ben Masrur in a Bodleian MS. (*loc. cit.*, p. 336) explains how the Jews were made responsible for foreign superstition. Among these MSS. we find even translations into Arabic from Latin, for instance, the Antidotarium of Nicolaus Praepositus (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 812), and they are very probably translated by Jews, because they are to be found

¹ Kennicott, ap. Schurrer, *Distt.*, I, 6; *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, II, 13, n. 1.

² A short bibliographical enumeration, according to the names of the authors, is given in my article, "Schriften der Araber in hebr. Handschriften" (*ZDMG.*, XLVII, 1893, pp. 335-384), where (p. 358) is to be added, ibn al-Nafis, MS. Berlin, n. 234²; (p. 367) Tifaschi, *ibid.* 250².

only in Hebrew characters. This kind of literature has escaped the attention of the Orientalists. The work of BATALJUSI, composed in the twelfth century—interesting for his theory of the intellectual spheres, and his plagiarism of Gazzali—is better known by the Hebrew translation¹.

Of course, the Arabic scholars translated by the Jews had formerly been read, and were the favourite authors; the most important are to be found in my *Jewish Literature* (§ 11, notes 21, 22), and in my work, *The Hebrew Translations in the Middle Ages*. But we do not only take into consideration those works which have been translated into Hebrew—and on such we have to inquire whether they are indeed directly translated from the Arabic or by the intermediation of a Latin translation out of Arabic—the Jews or baptized Jews were also the interpreters for translations into Latin, Spanish, French, and (perhaps?) Italian (*Die hebr. Übersetz.*, V. Abschnitt), and they, for the most part, possessed some knowledge of the Arabic literature, for instance, the renowned Joh. Hispalensis or Aven Da'ud (twelfth century), Isaac ibn Sid, the Chasan of Toledo, who was the chief compiler of the so-called tables of Alphonso and the pretended praeses of the astronomical congress, which however never existed.

¹ Dieterici, however, exaggerates the influence of this work, see *Hebr. Bibliogr.*, IV, 44; *Die hebr. Übersetz.*, p. 286.

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(To be continued.)